

BRITISH TOPICS.

NOTES FROM LONDON.

MR. M. D. CONWAY TO COME TO AMERICA—EXAMINATION OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE EMMA MINING COMPANY—AN ENGLISH ARMY OFFICER CASHIERED.

FROM THE REGULAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.

LONDON, Feb. 13.—You are to be richer and we are to be poorer next Autumn by one good American. My friend Mr. Conway—the Rev. Monette D. Conway has to be called—is going to the United States for a visit and a lecturing tour. Really going this time. His friends at home have so often been promised a visit from him and so often been disappointed that I wish to assure them that my present announcement is made on the best possible authority, that of Mr. Conway himself. "At last," writes he in his characteristic way, "I have yielded to the voice of the tempter. I go to America in the Autumn for a lecturing tour. I am told that I may arrange my journeyings so as to see my old friends also in many parts of the country. It has been so long since I was going over that unless you say it is true, and that you have it on my authority, the lecturing platforms will pass over the report with contempt." Let the unbelievers believe that.

But I hardly know for my own part to contemplate the prospect. As an American friend of mine and who has twice paid us a visit, wrote me not long since, "I cannot conceive of London without Conway. It would no longer be London to me." But I suppose we ought to spare him to you for a time. He does not hint what South Place Chapel is to do—whose voice is to be heard in the pulpit where for so many years has gathered a faithful band about him, with many reinforcements of strangers who thronged to hear an American celebrity. Nor do I see how *The Cincinnati Commercial* is to supply the place of his letters—that quaint, fresh, original, racy correspondence which exposed to the Buckeye view so many sides of London life that nobody else ever saw, or could describe if he did. Mr. Conway's life here has been a very unusual one—very honorable to him in all ways. His is the rare case of an American coming, without assured employment, into the center of English intellectual life, a center crowded with ability, where talents elbow one another; where the literary work to be done bears but a fearful small proportion to the number of men who want to do it—and succeeding. Mr. Conway made himself a reputation in England, all the while preserving and extending what he had previously gained in America. His acquaintance is wide and singularly various. He is going to lecture to you, among other topics, on London. When you have heard him, London will ever after seem to you a new place. French wit said of Dumas, on the appearance of one of his most famous books of travel, that he had discovered the Mediterranean. In a similar sense you will declare that Mr. Conway has discovered London. His views of England and English life are sure to be picturesque; his opinions will be his own, his judgment upon our customs, ingenious, daring, possibly sometimes wayward, but always worth hearing. Whether you agree with him or not, you can't but love him and enjoy him. His other topics will be the Devil—when he did not discover—and Oriental Religion. His studies for many years past have been much occupied with both these subjects. His new well-known book, *The Sacred Anthology*, showed how extensive his survey of the latter had been. Of that book the whole third edition has, by the enlightened liberality of a Scotch gentleman, been sent out to India for the members of the Brahmo Samaj. I do not know what the Brahmo Samaj may be, but the Scotch gentleman is not likely to throw away his money on unworthy objects. A fourth edition will soon appear, with a new introduction.

The examination of the books and accounts of the Emma Mine—under the petition to wind up that concern—is proceeding; an order of court having compulsionally put an end to the not unnatural reluctance of the managers to have their affairs looked into. Impossible to say yet what has been discovered, the inquiry being private. There seems reason to hope, however, that this scrutiny will go pretty deep into the mysteries that have hung about the matter. The Secretary of the Company attempted lately to refuse the explanation demanded of him respecting a certain cash item, but the Court compelled him to testify. It will all come out when the case comes on for hearing. Then, I suppose, we shall have the pleasure of seeing the name of the American Minister figure once more in the English papers, with possibly some accounts of the way in which he was induced to become a Director and Trustee of the Company, and to allow himself to be advertised as such under the title of United States Minister to the Court of St. James.

Meantime, two more agreeable stories about him are in circulation. When you hear Gen. Schenck discussed, it is by chance it is not in connection with the Emma Mine, it is almost certain to be Poker. People who are in the habit of meeting him say that his passion for this game brooks no restraint. As soon as dinner is over—or it may even be lunch, for poker is capable, in his judgment, of being played by daylight—the General begins to fillet for the cards. He may be scheming with his way to the card-table, which he clears off with his own ministerial hands, and with his own hands also makes up the packs and divides the counters. The preparation of card-tables is usually, in this terribly aristocratic country, left to the servants, but Gen. Schenck has no prejudices, and cards, like *tréte et quarete* at Monaco, are great levellers. His best known performance, perhaps, was at a country house when he sprang up from table—this was at lunch—saw a poker from the hearth, sheltered it, marshalled the company behind him, and led the way to the drawing-room where the card-tables were laid, crying out to his followers, "In his sign vinees!" There were some who thought it profane; others who laughed readily both at and with the American Minister. It is perhaps still more remarkable that our representative recomposed his English acquaintances as an "entomologist of American life."

Sir Charles Dilke is back in London and in his place in the House of Commons. He went lately to Algeria in search of health, but the result hardly answered his expectations. It is not to be supposed that he is an invalid in the ordinary sense of the word. On arriving in London, however, he was laid up for a few days with an attack of chicken-pox. Having quite recovered from this, he is hard at work as usual.

Mr. McCulloch returned lately from America, and is once more at the head of his flourishing banking-house in Lombard-st. We are very much obliged to you for not keeping him any longer. Some eminent London financiers interested in American affairs seem to have expected Gen. Grant to suppress his personal prejudices for the good of his country, and make Mr. McCulloch Secretary of the Treasury. But they expected too much. Meantime American credit over here is perhaps as low as it has stood for a long time. A banker remarked to me yesterday that it is quite hopeless to bring out anything American unless of the most strictly first-class guaranteed description. I said I was not sorry to hear it. We have had enough ventures tried of the speculative swindling kind.

The painful story with which all London has been busy this week received the most positive official confirmation last night. A paragraph in *The Gazette* is as follows: "Seventh Hussars: Major the Hon. Walter Harbord is removed from the army, His Majesty having no further occasion for his services." The plain English of which is that the Hon. Walter Harbord is cashiered. His offense was cheating at cards at Monaco, and as this is the second scandal of the sort within a twelvemonth in noble families, the feeling is very strong. Major Harbord is reported to have won £20,000 at a single game lately in London, and £7,000 at Monaco before he was found out and expelled from the rooms. He is a brother of the Lord Suffield who married a daughter of the late Henry Baring. He has stood well in the army and was a favorite in society—a tall, handsome fellow, I heard of one lady's

A POLITICAL CRISIS.

THE GREAT ISSUE NOW BEFORE THE COUNTRY.

SHALL THE SOUTHERN STATES BE GOVERNED FROM WASHINGTON OR BE ALLOWED TO GOVERN THEMSELVES—THE PROSPECT OF THE COUNTRY—THE NATURAL PRODUCT OF HOME RULE AND NOT OF WASHINGTON LEGISLATION.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27.—Congress is in the throes of its great agitation over the Southern question. The discussion is voluminous, though the issue is simple. This question is merely whether the Southern States shall be governed from Washington, or be allowed to govern themselves. One would think that this is not a very recondite problem. But it is all there is of it. It creates the one dividing line between parties.

Mr. Hoar and Mr. Frye find on visiting Louisiana, that they have such bad people down there that they require very good people to govern them. These, of course, can be found in Maine and Massachusetts. Mr. Hoar ought to see that at bottom his system is the carpet-bag system, only worked well. And it never will work well, as it is inherently vicious. Unless the nation is going to abrogate its system, Massachusetts must be allowed to have her own local government, and Louisiana must be allowed to have hers. It shocks Mr. Hoar to find how much lower the level of Louisiana civilization is than that of Massachusetts. No doubt. But does it help that to govern Louisiana from Washington? The voters of that State are vastly more ignorant than those of New-England. This cannot be disputed. But will it enlighten them to direct them down there, more than in Massachusetts. Can they be cured by putting the state under national supervision or even by sending down Massachusetts and Maine men to teach a higher morality and better fashions?

Mr. Hoar and Mr. Frye fall into error by failing to view the subject from the proper point of view. They see great evils, and they want to remove them. They think Washington legislation will do it. This is their mistake. There are some things legislation cannot reach, and least of all external legislation applied by outside reformers. You cannot legislate virtue into a people nor vice out of them. In the presence of such a tremendous social and political revolution as has taken place in the old Slave States, it becomes outside to be careful and reserved. To plunge in with the strong arm of brute force to settle difficulties and embarrasments growing out of fundamental changes between the races, which would compose themselves if left to time, is unwise and hazardous. The negro is free, the negro is enfranchised, and the white man at the South cannot change the fact. It is a condition solidly imbedded in the Constitution and the laws, and there is no escape from it now or hereafter.

The negro's progress under this change must be left to other influences than irritating legislation from Washington. Washington and enforced by alien hands. It is a system of foreign interference, not in harmony with our system of government, which composes nothing and discomposes everything.

That there will be some injustice practiced, and some hardships to endure, in the transitional condition of the South, is not only probable, but inevitable. But they cannot be cured by outside interference meddling with every detail. The progress of all civilization and the attainment of human condition has always been slow. The white European has been a thousand years in reaching his present high and still distracted state. And there is no imperfect and unstable of securing an exemption from all trial and trouble to the African race among us any more than to the Saxons, or by which we or he can do more with the two essential elements of time and patience.

I content myself with this presenting in the fewest possible words, the one great political issue before the country, on which every voter must take sides, and prepare himself to stand in the immediate future. It involves the question of the public tranquillity, and the public prosperity, in their most vital relationships. The business of the country, and the peace of the country are alike concerned. It is a question whether the people of the States, now all alike free, shall rule themselves or be ruled by somebody else. It is a question whether we shall close the civil war or continue it. It is a question whether the Federal Government shall be an empire or a partitioned political confederation arising within the Union, from the changes of the last few years, whether it shall honor itself by its wisdom, its reserve, and its benignity, or dishonor itself by active meddling and dissension, in treating these subjects.

We cannot have any doubt on which side of this question the people of all the States will finally array themselves. Meantime there is to be a struggle. President Grant and his partisans have opened wide the door on the subject. It is he who has raised the issue, and apparently on personal grounds. The battle must be joined, whoever leads the forces, or whoever are his lieutenants. The country cannot afford to have this running sore remain open. It must be closed. The public tranquillity must be reassured. Confidence in the future must be established. Trade, commerce, all the material interests of the country, demand it. Justice, a restored morality, the harmony of its parts, moral and all political considerations, exact it. Without this tranquillity, and without this confidence, the country, especially the South, cannot recover the control of those moral and physical resources upon which unaided play its improvement and advancement alone depends. Every man not naturally a partisan or a bigot ought to see this. And also that it cannot come from or by Washington legislation, but simply and solely from Home Rule.

REBUILDING A POLITICAL TEMPLE.

HOW ARE REPUBLICANS TO COUNTERACT THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES OF THE ADMINISTRATION—THE MAIN BODY OF THE PARTY DISSENTING FROM THE EVILS THAT THE LIBERALS SAW IN 1872—THE DUTY OF REFORM AND CONSERVATION.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22.—There is a good deal of what may be termed concern felt here over the political situation of the period. There is a widespread feeling that the Government is bent upon promoting and aggravating dangerous sectional animosities, for party and personal objects, instead of honestly discharging its duty in trying to compose them. The question asked, and often anxiously propounded, is what is to be done, what ought to be done, to avert the consequences of such a policy? It endangers the public peace, and it portends ruin to the party in power.

Well, President Grant's Arkansas message tends to the belief that further outrage will be practiced on the South, the precise effects of which it is difficult to estimate. But I have no doubt that the prospect of relief, coming through a probable change of administration, will tend to abate some threatening features of the situation, and that the nation may present very grave aspects. As to party dangers, I suppose they are to be regarded rather in the past tense. The chances of Republican success in the future are very much spoiled already, and fresh experiments on the public patience can hardly make them worse.

More and more do I suspect that this feeling on the part of moderate Republicans is what renders so many of them indifferent to any serious and combined effort to arrest the downward course of things. They seem to argue that affairs are going rapidly to the bad any way, and whether that tendency is accelerated or retarded a little makes no difference in the final result. In fact, they would rather, on the whole, have President Grant's discontinuity complete than partial. If he chooses to sit on the safety-valve, they are disposed to sit on it.

It is from this point of view that I do not share the anxiety felt by the many well-meaning Republicans, who think that affairs ought to be managed so as not to do to the discredit of the Republican party, and that it ought to have at least a chance to reorganize; and who, above all, hold that it is a disgrace that affairs in the South are not administered in the interest of peace, stability, and honest government instead of for the purpose of advancing party objects and personal ambition at the expense of the quiet and prosperity of the country.

These views are very reasonable and sensible, to be sure, but the difficulty is that they are out of season. It is like casting about for anchoring ground after the ship is on the rocks.

The Reform Republicans of 1872 saw then what the main body of that organization are only beginning to see now. They have passed through their season of anxiety and mortification, and condemnation of the base uses to which the noble old party was put by the promiscuous crowd that took it in charge for selfish and venal purposes soon after Gen. Grant's election in 1872—a crowd that has been daily growing more promiscuous since, until now the present piebald and pudding-stone organization, if it could be mirrored as it actually exists, with all its debaucheries and excesses imprinted on its front, would never be mistaken by any one for that compact, vigorous, healthy, conscientious body whose name it has appropriated, and whose character it has disgraced. In 1872 it was plain enough to everybody who wished to see, that that was the time to reform, and an opportunity was offered by the Cincinnati Convention to do it, and to do it by Republican agencies and under conservative auspices of an unquestionable character. But the offer was declined, and the opportunity was lost. Such men as Chief-Justice Chase, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Carl Schurz, Lyman Trumbull, and others from the front ranks of early Republicanism, pointed out the way and urged the effort, but, as the event proved, to no purpose. It was not their fault, therefore, nor was it the fault of those who went with them, that the Republican party of to-day is not a Reform party, composed of the best men of all sides, and standing firm and resolute in its probity, commanding success and defying destruction, instead of being what it is—the representative of every immoral element of our politics, and condemned on every hand by the votes of the people.

Why should the Reformers of 1872 be anxious now; and how can they sympathize with those who think the old party might be and ought to be reconstructed by a recall of those who have left its ranks, who mourn over its declension and the coming loss of its power, and who, above all, lament and deprecate the coming reign of a triumphant Democracy? What can the Reformers of 1872 say but this: "Gentlemen, you scorned our counsel, you denounced our objects, you derided our methods, and thus you have only yourselves to blame for what has come upon you, and for what impends. You would not accept the only possible reform which was proposed by the conservative Republican agencies of that period, and now behold the consequences. We proposed a gentle medicine to cure an incipient disorder and thus save the patient by a timely remedy. Refusing this suggestion, you have wilfully allowed the disease to spread until it has become incurable. Instead of a cured and rejuvenated party you have got a diseased and dying one. It is too late to apply remedies. We could not now help you if we would. The reform and salvation which were possible in 1872 were impossible in 1874, and will be impossible in 1875."

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The case now seems to admit only of this statement and the following treatment. Those still in the Republican ranks and those who have withdrawn, who seek reform and honest government, can do much to shape the revolution in progress. They can do it by cooperation, and they can do it by declining to act, except by yielding or withholding approval as occasion and circumstances seem to require. It should be remembered that the revolution in progress cannot be consummated except by the consent of Republicans. The knowledge of this will inevitably temper its quality. The new Democratic House of Representatives at Washington will be obliged to remember this, or else its power will be wasted from the first day of its existence. And so it will be throughout the country. It ought to be the business of conservative and reform Republicans everywhere to man this particular battle. It is a high standard of action both for the voter and the representative, and a firm and judicious exercise of the power will give us a reformed government. If it will not, it is far to conclude that no other course will. The nation is seeing the deleterious effect of rampant partisanship in the present state of affairs, and the last thing it wants is a kind of exhibition on the other side. This nation must have a balance-wheel to prevent such dangerous fluctuations. It is the business of the Reform Republicans everywhere to man this particular battle. It is a high standard of action both for the voter and the representative, and a firm and judicious exercise of the power will give us a reformed government. If it will not, it is far to conclude that no other course will. The nation is seeing the deleterious effect of rampant partisanship in the present state of affairs, and the last thing it wants is a kind of exhibition on the other side. 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